

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
 [501] (damajagua), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
 285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
 263] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
 which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
 have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
 few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
 chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
 [111] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
 them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
 even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
 have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
 talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sinuous lan-
 guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
 money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
 [42] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
 ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
 576 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
 571 forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
 [41] or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
 present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
 loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
 small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
 they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
 looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
 even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
 fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops, then they surround
 her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
 jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
 on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
 elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

[42] The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
 302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
 314 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
 streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
 sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
 turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadre,"
 and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
 the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

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the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages 173
 in this new location over their former mountain habitat
 resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved con- 174
 ditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the
 river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their
 former life, which was that of a village community of
 mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very
 considerable. They at present live scattered along the
 banks of the river, each family keeping to itself in 361
 large numbers, but they still preserve a semblance of [57]•
 their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta
 Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which
 is a common meeting place for its particular division
 of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, 648
 in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable
 possession of their territory, and have endeavored to
 protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settle-
 ment of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its
 tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however,
 has been quite another matter, for the negroes, de-
 scendants of former slaves of Columbia and Ecuador,
 in later years have gradually worked their way up the
 streams until now their houses extend as far as Corri-
 ente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found
 as far down-stream as Borlon, at the confluence of the
 Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house
 farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the
 confluence of the Rio Grande with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:183).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curures.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late */inV/*, Arcilio Pischichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Anaga, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Hirsch in an important manner:

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In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait accompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Barrow 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as */in⁷/*. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the */in⁷/* should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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the Eliz Verda. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

The area around Cajaliles is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liaisons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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your vagina is delicious,* but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

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. . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male.

Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Then-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "Eti!" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

. . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fissias at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homosexualities. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but sexual in the sense of a transfer of libidinal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fissias. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its normal

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sagallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alienates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

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